

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 ACDA-05 OMB-01 SAJ-01 EB-07

TRSE-00 SAM-01 COME-00 AGR-05 FEAE-00 /096 W

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P R 311628Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6314

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

CINCPAC

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 15755

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, VN

SUBJECT: SOVIET-DRV RELATIONS: LE DUAN VISIT

REF: MOSCOW 15639

1. SUMMARY. THE SOVIETS HAVE PULLED OUT ALL THE STOPS FOR LE DUAN'S VISIT, THE OFFICIAL PORTION OF WHICH ENDS TODAY. DURING VISIT BREZHNEV AND LE DUAN SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION WHICH ASSERTS UNANIMITY OF VIEWS ON EVERY SUBJECT DISCUSSED. THE TWO SIDE ALSO SIGNED A NEW ECONOMIC AID AGREEMENT AND A PROTOCOL ON RESULTS OF COORDINATING ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR 1976-80, AND THE SOVIETS GAVE A NEW CREDIT ON "PREFERENTIAL TERMS," FOR
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THE SAME PERIOD. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE LISTED THE ACCORES,

NAMED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE TALKS AND NOTED THAT LE DUAN WOULD BE STAYING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR A BRIEF REST.

2. THE BASIC QUIDS AND QUOS OF THE EXCHANGES AS WE SEE THEM ARE THESE:

A. A VERY LARGE NEW SOVIET AID COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM, INCLUDING A NEW CREDIT, WHICH WILL EXTEND SOVIET INVOLVEMENT TO MOST SECTORS OF THE VIETNAMESE ECONOMY;

B. PROBABLY SOME MILITARY AID, JUDGING BY GRECHKO'S PRESENCE IN THE TALKS, ALTHOUGH NONE WAS MENTIONED;

C. EFFUSIVE VIETNAMESE PRAISE FOR SOVIET ACHIEVEMENTS AND MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE, INCLUDING QUALIFIED REFERENCES TO DETENTE AND ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET TERMINOLOGY ON "SOCIALIST UNITY" WHICH WILL CERTAINLY IRRITATE PEKING;

D. SOVIET TACIT ACQUIESCENCE IN LE DUAN'S HARSHLY ANTI-AMERICAN RHETORIC, ESPECIALLY AT THE FACTORY RALLY ON OCTOBER 29. END SUMMARY.

3. SOVIET MEDIA HAVE GONE ALL OUT, AS THEY DID WITH GDR PARTY CHIEF HONECKER EARLIER THIS MONTH, TO CONVEY THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE OF THE CURRENT VISIT BY DRV PARTY CHIEF LE DUAN. PRAVDA'S FRONT PAGE (OCTOBER 31) IS COMPLETELY FILLED WITH SOVIET-DRV ITEMS UNDER THE BANNER HEADLINE "UNDER THE BANNER OF BROTHERLY FRIENDSHIP." A PHOTO SHOWS BREZHNEV AND LE DUAN SIGNING THE JOINT DECLARATION. THE TELEVISION COVERAGE HAS BEEN EXHAUSTIVE.

4. THE DECLARATION (WE EXPECT FBIS WILL CARRY FULL TEXT) DESCRIBES THE VISIT AS AN "IMPORTANT STEP" ON THE ROAD TOWARD THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS AND THE TWO SIDES ARE DESCRIBED AS EXPRESSING "COMPLETE UNANIMITY OF VIEWS ON ALL ISSUES DISCUSSED." THE VIETNAMESE PRAISED SOVIET ACHIEVEMENTS PROFUSELY, INCLUDING ITS EFFORTS TOWARD INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DETENTE. THE LATTER POINT IS FOLLOWED
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BY A REFERENCE TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AND HELSINKI, AND IS DILUTED BY LATER REFERENCES TO THE "STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM." THE SOVIETS LAUD HANOI'S VICTORY AND CLAIM IT AS A VICTORY FOR ALL SOCIALIST AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES. BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE DESCRIBED AS BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND ARE SAID TO STRENGTHEN "THE UNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES."

5. THE DECLARATION NOTED THAT THE USSR WOULD EXTEND A CREDIT "ON PREFERENTIAL TERMS," TO AID IN INDUSTRIALIZATION, AGRICULTURAL AND CONSUMER GOODS UNDER THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR 1976-80. UNDER THE CREDIT, THE SOVIETS WILL ASSIST THE DRV IN ENERGY, MINING, METALLURGY, CHEMISTRY, MACHINE BUILDING AND OTHER AREAS; IN DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY; AND IN SUPPLYING NUMEROUS PRODUCTS INCLUDING MACHINERY, MEANS OF TRANSPORT, PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, COTTON AND OTHERS.

6. THE DECLARATION DESCRIBES THE WORLD SITUATION AS HAVING THREE SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS: THE INCREASED STRENGTH OF THE "WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM," THE STEADY INCREASE IN THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, AND THE BROADENING OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES. THESE THREE FACTORS ARE SAID TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHER INTENSIFICATION OF THE CURRENT CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. BY CONTRAST, THE INCREASED INFLUENCE OF SOCIALISM IS ALLEGED TO BE A FORCE FOR PEACE, AND THE INDOCHINESE VICTORIES ARE SAID TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO PEACE IN ASIA. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE CLOSEST THE DECLARATION COMES TO DISCUSSING ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, WHICH IS NOT MENTIONED.) IN THE CATALOGUE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ALL OF WHICH ARE TREATED ROUTINELY IN SOVIET TERMINOLOGY, THE TWO SIDES EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES AND THE LIQUIDATION OF AMERICAN MILITARY BASES THERE. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE ONLY EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO THE US, ALTHOUGH "IMPERIALISM" IS DENOUNCED SEVERAL TIMES AND THE US, OF COURSE, WAS REGULARLY, REPEATEDLY AND VITUPERATIVELY DENOUNCED IN VARIOUS SPEECHES MADE BY LE DUAN DURING

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THE COURSE OF THE VISIT.)

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P R 311628Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 15755

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

6. BESIDES THE DECLARATION, THE TWO SIDES SIGNED TWO ECONOMIC ACCORDS, ONE AN AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISION OF SOVIET ECONOMIC AID TO THE DRV (PERIOD NOT SPECIFIED), AND A PROTOCOL "ON THE RESULTS OF THE COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC PLANS" BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES FOR THE PERIOD 1976-80. BOTH WERE SIGNED BY SOVIET DEPUTY PREMIER AND HEAD OF STATE PLANNING (GOSPLAN), BAIBAKOV, AND BY HIS DRV COUNTERPART LE THANH NGHI. APART FROM THE ITEMS DISCUSSED IN THE DECLARATION, NO DETAILS WERE GIVEN ON THE AMOUNTS OR TYPES OF AID TO BE PROVIDED. (COMMENT: MILITARY AID WAS NOT MENTIONED AS A PART OF THESE ACCORDS, BUT SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO WAS ONE OF THE FIVE POLITBURO MEMBERS LISTED AS TAKING PART IN THE BILATERAL TALKS. THIS COULD BE FOR HISTORICAL REASONS, BUT WE WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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GUESS THAT THERE IS PROBABLY A MILITARY COMPONENT IN THIS AID PACKAGEAS WELL. END COMMENT)

8. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WAS BRIEF, LISTING THE DATES OF THE VISIT, THE ACCORDS SIGNED AND THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE TALKS. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS DESCRIBED AS "COMRADELY", AND MARKED BY A "SPIRIT OF COMPLETE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING." THE SOVIETS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO SEND A PARTY-GOVERNMENT

DELEGATION TO THE DRV AT A TIME TO BE DECIDED LATER. IT CONCLUDED THAT LE DUAN WOULD BE STAYING ON FOR A SHORT REST AT SOVIET INVITATION.

9. COMMENT: IN TERMS OF SYMBOLISM, THE SOVIETS COULD HARDLY HAVE DONE MORE FOR LE DUAN. THE AMOUNT OF NEW AID CAN ONLY BE GUESSED AT, BUT THE DECLARATION MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WILL BE INVOLVED IN VIRTUALLY ALL AREAS OF THE VIETNAMESE ECONOMY. THE SOVIET ATTITUDE WAS INDICATED BY A SOVIET OFFICIAL WHO TOLD A JAPANESE EMBASSY THIS WEEK THAT "THE VIETNAMESE WILL NOT BE DISAPPOINTED, BUT CERTAIN OTHER CIRCLES MAY BE MADE UNCOMFORTABLE." MOSCOW NO DOUBT HOPES THAT PEKING WILL BE DISCOMFITED BY THE CORDIALITY OF THE EXCHANGES HERE, '68'S ACCEPTANCES OF REFERENCES TO THE SOLIDARITY AND UNITY OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM, BY LE DUAN'S LAVISH PRAISE FOR SOVIET CONTRIBUTIONS AS WELL AS BY HIS LONGER STAY FOR "REST." THE VIETNAMESE ALSO WENT ALONG WITH REFERENCES TO THE IMPORTANCE OF DETENTE, BUT ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPE. LE DUAN'S EMPHASIS WAS CLEARLY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ANTI-CAPITALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

10. THE VIETNAMESE USED THE VISIT TO BLAST AWAY AT THE U.S., ESPECIALLY IN LE DUAN'S SPEECH AT A MOSCOW FACTORY ON OCTOBER 29 (PARA 2, REFTEL). HE NOT ONLY MENTIONED "U.S. AGGRESSION" SEVERAL TIMES EXPLICITLY IN THAT SPEECH -- THE FULL TEXT OF WHICH WAS CARRIED IN PRAVDA -- BUT DEVOTED ONE SECTION EXPLICITLY TO SCORING THE U.S. FOR ITS WARTIME ACTIVITIES. LE DUAN'S REMARKS WERE CERTAINLY THE MOST ANTI-AMERICAN WE HAVE SEEN IN THE PAGES OF THE SOVIET PRESS FOR A LONG TIME.

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11. ONE SMALL FOOTNOTE: TASS REPORTED THAT ON OCTOBER 30 LE DUAN WAS INTRODUCED TO THE "HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS ACCREDITED TO THE USSR." AN INVITATION TO THIS RECEPTION WAS ADDRESSED TO AMBASSADOR STOESSEL, WHO IS AWAY FROM POST, BUT IN ACCORD WITH STANDING INSTRUCTIONS, I DID NOT ATTEND.
MATLOCK

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